

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 10076 01 OF 02 251756Z

46

ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 EA-11 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-16 NEA-14 RSC-01

SCI-06 AEC-11 SPM-01 AGR-20 CEA-02 CIAE-00 COME-00

EB-11 FRB-02 H-03 INR-10 INT-08 L-03 LAB-06 NSAE-00

NSC-07 PA-04 AID-20 CIEP-02 SS-20 STR-08 TAR-02

TRSE-00 USIA-15 PRS-01 SP-03 FEAE-00 OMB-01 SWF-02

DRC-01 SAJ-01 /262 W

----- 023547

R 251738Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3434

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 10076

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, UN

SUBJECT: STEAMROLLER TACTICS AT THE SIXTH SPECIAL
SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY (UNGA)

REFS: (A) STATE 104050; (B) BONN 8322

SUMMARY: WE HAVE CONTINUED OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH FRG
FOREIGN OFFICE REPRESENTATIVES REGARDING LDC TACTICS
AT THE UNGA SPECIAL SESSION. THE AMBASSADOR SET FORTH
US CONCERNS IN A RECENT MEETING WITH THE NEWLY INSTALLED
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BONN 10076 01 OF 02 251756Z

STATE SECRETARY, GEHLHOFF. EMBOFF TALKED TO GORENFLOS,

WHO HANDLES UNGA MATTERS IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S IO DIVISION. THE GERMANS, WHO CLEARLY SHARE OUR CONCERNS, SEE MANY SIGNS THAT THEIR LDC CONTACTS ARE DISSATISFIED WITH THE MONOLITHIC POSITIONS OF THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY RECOGNIZE THE PROBLEM INHERENT IN FACT THAT THESE VOICES OF DISSENT REMAIN LARGELY SILENT IN PLENARY MEETINGS OF THE GROUP OF 77 OR THE NON-ALIGNED. THE GERMANS SEE NO EASY ANSWERS, APART FROM PATIENT AND DETERMINED DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY.

END SUMMARY

1. GEHLHOFF, WHO HAS JUST RETURNED FROM HIS POSITION AS FRG AMBASSADOR TO THE UN, NOTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN A TENDENCY OVER THE YEARS TO SHIFT AWAY FROM BLUNT CONFRONTATION ON DIVISIVE ISSUES OF THE KIND DISCUSSED AT THE SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION. HE SAID THERE WAS A JOKE MAKING THE ROUNDS AT THE UN TO THE EFFECT THAT IN THE OLD DAYS, WHEN ONE OPPOSED A POSITION, ONE VOTED AGAINST IT; THEN, AFTER A WHILE, A MORE POPULAR ALTERNATIVE WAS TO ABSTAIN; NOWADAYS, ONE ESTABLISHED "CONSENSUS." GEHLHOFF SAID THAT THE US, UK, AND FRG DELEGATES WERE THE ONLY WESTERN DCs THAT HAD PUT UP ANY SIGNIFICANT RESISTANCE AT ALL, BY MAKING STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD EXPRESSING THEIR RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE SESSION. HE RECALLED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE HAD BEEN A BIT OF INTERESTING EASTERN EUROPEAN BIPLAY IN WHICH SOVIET AMBASSADOR MALIK YIELDED TO THE GDR REPRESENTATIVE TO MAKE WHAT AMOUNTED TO A CAREFULLY WORDED STATEMENT OF RESERVATION.

2. GEHLHOFF SAID THAT THE "AUTOMATIC MAJORITY" WAS OBVIOUSLY A FACT OF LIFE WITH WHICH WE WOULD HAVE TO DEAL FOR SOME TIME TO COME. HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE VALUABLE FOR US TO DISCUSS IT TOGETHER FROM TIME TO TIME. THERE WAS OBVIOUSLY NO EASY OR PATENT SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS IT POSED. GEHLHOFF SAID THAT THE GERMANS HAD, IN A WIDE VARIETY OF INDIVIDUAL CONVERSATIONS AND BILATERAL CONTACTS, HEARD MANY EXPRESSIONS OF DISSATISFACTION FROM LDC REPRESENTATIVES WHO CONSIDERED THE APPROACH BEING TAKEN BY THE NON-ALIGNED BLOC BAD AND UNREALISTIC. HE MENTIONED THAT AN AFRICAN

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 10076 01 OF 02 251756Z

AMBASSADOR IN BONN HAD RECENTLY TOLD HIM IN HEATED TERMS ABOUT AFRICAN DISSATISFACTION WITH ARAB POLICY, MANY AFRICAN STATES FEELING THAT THEIR SUPPORT FOR ARAB POLICY (EXPRESSED, FOR EXAMPLE, BY BREAKING RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL) HAD NEVER BEEN HONORED IN ANY ADEQUATE WAY. AS ANOTHER EXAMPLE, GEHLHOFF CITED THE RECENT DISPUTE OVER THE SELECTION OF A NEW GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE OAU, WHERE A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE CANDIDACIES OF THE

SOMALIAN AND ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS, THE FORMER BEING SUSPECTED OF TOO PRO-ARAB A POSITION, HAD ONLY BEEN SETTLED BY COMPROMISING ON THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CAMEROON. GEHLHOFF MENTIONED THAT AT LEAST ONE LDC REPRESENTATIVE IN TALKING TO THE GERMANS, HAD EVEN BEEN CRITICAL OF NON-ALIGNED POLICY TOWARD RHODESIA, FEELING THAT THIS POLICY, IF ANYTHING, STRENGTHENED RHODESIA'S POSITION.

3. LACKING ANY MAGIC FORMULA FOR DEALING WITH THE KIND OF PROBLEMS THAT CROPPED UP IN NEW YORK, GEHLHOFF THOUGHT THAT WE HAD NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO ENGAGE IN PATIENT, STEP-BY-STEP DIPLOMACY, TAKING ADVANTAGE WHEREVER POSSIBLE OF THE KIND OF DISSENSION HE HAD JUST GIVEN

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 10076 02 OF 02 251755Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 10076

EXAMPLES OF. GORENFLOS EXPRESSED THIS SAME VIEW IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS WITH EMBOFF. HE THOUGHT THAT WESTERN INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES WOULD HENCEFORTH HAVE TO PRESENT THEIR VIEWS MORE ENERGETICALLY, NOT ONLY IN MULTILATERAL GROUPINGS BUT, EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY, IN BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH INDIVIDUAL LDCS. CONFRONTATION AND UNPLEASANT ACCUSATIONS ABOUT OSTENSIBLE EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE NON-ALIGNED BLOC MIGHT OCCASIONALLY BE UNAVOIDABLE BUT COULD BE MINIMIZED IF
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BONN 10076 02 OF 02 251755Z

WE EMPHASIZED THE INEVITABILITY OF INTERDEPENDENCE, THE CONCRETE INTERESTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL LDCS, AND THE DAMAGE THAT COULD BE DONE TO THE UN BY USING IT AS A FORUM FOR ESSENTIALLY DECLAMATORY STATEMENTS ABOUT UNREALIZABLE PROGRAMS.

4. COMMENT: OBVIOUSLY, NEITHER THE FOREIGN OFFICE NOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AS A WHOLE HAVE YET HAD TIME FOR A THOROUGH ANALYSIS OF THIS SITUATION. GORENFLOS EMPHASIZED THAT HIS OWN VIEWS WERE PERSONAL, ALTHOUGH HE HAD EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THEY WOULD BE SANCTIONED BY HIS DIVISION CHIEF AND THE HIGHER LEVELS OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE; AND INDEED THEY WERE CONFIRMED IN SOMEWHAT Milder FORM BY WHAT GEHLHOFF TOLD THE AMBASSADOR. GEHLHOFF HAD NO CRITICISM OF US POSITIONS AT THE SPECIAL SESSION. GORENFLOS, HOWEVER, HAS ECHOED THE STATEMENTS MADE TO EMBOFF BY DITTMAN (REF B) TO THE EFFECT THAT, HAD THE US TAKEN A FIRMER STAND IN OPPOSING NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS, IT WOULD HAVE RECEIVED SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT FROM THE WEOS AND WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ISOLATED. WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO JUDGE WHAT, IF ANY, MERIT THIS NOTION HAS. IN ORDER TO DISCUSS IT USEFULLY WITH FRG REPRESENTATIVES, WE WOULD NEED FROM THE DEPARTMENT AND USUN AN ANALYSIS OF THOSE CONCRETE SITUATIONS AT THE SPECIAL SESSION WHERE A CLEARER INDICATION OF SUPPORT FROM INDIVIDUAL WEOS OR THE EC-9 WOULD HAVE MADE A SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE IN THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE US. IN ANY EVENT, OUR OVERALL IMPRESSION IS THAT THE FONOFF HAS TENTATIVELY CONCLUDED THAT THE WESTERN REACTION TO LDC STEAMROLLER TACTICS WAS TOO SOFT AND THAT WE WOULD HAVE DONE BETTER TO SHOW GREATER WILLINGNESS TO RISK CONFRONTATION.

HILLENBRAND

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